565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

[797] The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
[648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Cheriffen are divided into ordinary Cheriffen and warrior Cheriffen.

631 781 [794] The Dᵛg Rᵃli are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

•797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Aᵛsekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dᵛg Rᵃli. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 [648] Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dᵛg Rᵃli, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Iᵃman wadi in [777] order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

622
631
777 time. Unfortunately the garden was abandoned after Father de Foucauld was gone.

Although it is difficult to imagine, Father de Foucauld had even thought of Ouksem ag Ourar as a possible aménokal, against all Tuareg social rules.

But what remains of all that? The dead are quickly forgotten among the Tuareg, and although Ouksem may recall from time to time that the marabout was his good friend, it is to be presumed that he, no more than his Dăg Râli, understood the devotion and the affection which was to cost the life of the hermit in the Sahara.

631 The Ikechchemâden, whom we have mentioned previously, have always lived near the Dăg Râli, with whom they used to form only a single tribe. Upon the distribution of the Imrad, they became the vassals of the Tăitok, but they remained with the Dăg Râli and contracted numerous unions with them so that it is difficult to tell them apart. And so, in 1907, they asked to be attached to the tobol of the Kel Rela.

173 The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. -- The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé form the most
631 important Imrad tribe in the Ahaggar after the Dăg Râli. They are said to have formerly nomadized in the neighborhood of In /194/ Gall in Aïr and have emigrated into the Ahaggar because of the demands of the Sultan of Agadez on whom they originally depended. The latter had polygamous mores and each year demanded of them a young and pretty virgin. Tired of this custom, which was contrary to Tuareg mores, they left the country and came to place themselves under the protection of the aménokal of the Kel Rela, Younès, the son (?) of Kella (ca. 1700). (The version reported by Mr. Benhazéra says "son of Mohamed el Kheir.")

Before coming to seek protection from the Ihăggaren, they belonged to the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-Élimen, a name by which they are still called sometimes. One fraction of this tribe remained in Aïr and bears the name of Ir'Alaman or Kel Rapsa. They were the ones chiefly responsible for founding the Ghat oasis.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Arokam, Serouanout, and in the Anahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

[241 423] The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

[797]

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[181]

[65] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddin. -- The Relaiddin probably came from Aïr, like the Agouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglan.

[177 233] This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

563 631 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten, but are incorporated.

563 173 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Adrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

[799] 197 [648] Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 563 631 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were bestowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 439 484 233 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their camel raising is particularly renowned.

The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad 563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an [173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Adenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead [221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaïa well.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [754] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some- 848] times punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage.-- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she [593] still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Air this is not the case; there the mother and the family of [587] the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

1: Lhote--159 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

/298/

Chapter 2

Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

797 The Tuareg are Moslem today, but their conversion to Islam is very superficial and relatively recent. Although, like all new converts, they strive to hide their former beliefs, it is nonetheless true that these beliefs have left still visible traces among them. For a few years they have made a point of honor of calling themselves good disciples of the Prophet, and they have even tried to claim a sherif origin. Thus it is very difficult to obtain the least enlightenment on their former religion from them.

What were these ancient beliefs? Idolatry or fetishism? On this subject we can only interpret some facts which will always remain very vague, for, as Gautier says, the Tuareg are Islamized enough to have lost all curiosity about their own pre-Islam past.

172 Prehistoric and protohistoric cults. -- If we closely examine the rock drawings and paintings discovered in the Central Sahara in the last few years, we find a certain number of elements which can give us an idea of the beliefs of these ancient inhabitants. Perhaps there is no connection between the latter and the Tuareg, which is probable, but it can also be granted that there were common points of contact down through the centuries which have left traces in the different peoples who inhabited the regions we are interested in.

In the precameline drawings, earlier than the bovid period, the totemic nature is brought out by several persons with zoomorphic heads (dog, mastiff) and false tails; they recall the representation of the old gods of ancient Egypt and at the same time the ritual disguises still used among African Negroes. They may be either appropriate disguises used for hunting in order to be able /299/ to approach game more easily, or else they are persons wearing masks

114 175 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians. [531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the [192 174] Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

175 797 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

175 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects
• 797 from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found
[173 /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of
53[] Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the
173 Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

[197] Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in
[173] 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged
[169] for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihăggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instruments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place, and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small Koran board.

Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

565 614 101 131 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern Air. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 174 563 [797] There have probably never been many Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

[591] [611] We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century, through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

565 563 174 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual [796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

794 The religious order of the Tidjani used to count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag- 778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The 643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag 771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

648 The European conquest of the Sahara Desert has done much to stimulate the Islamiza- 797 tion of the Tuareg in general during the last

648 100 years, for Marabout and Shorfa families
797 of the North often found it advantageous to move southward and attach themselves to Tuareg tribes or clans whom they then proceeded to stir up against the French and Italian newcomers. In this way the Koran became a kind of battle flag of local resistance to European penetration throughout the Sahara. The Camel Corps troops, who have long maintained order for the European rulers of the Desert, have always been recruited mainly from among Moslem Arab nomad tribes, notably the Chaamba, and their thinly scattered garrisons and outposts in the Tuareg country soon came to serve as centers for the continuing diffusion of Islamic doctrine. And finally it has
[582] become less and less unusual for noble ladies of the Ahaggar to marry men of Arab Shorfa or Maraboutic families. Thus racial and religious penetration have marched hand-in-hand into the Tuareg country, following the path that leads through adversity to union in a common cause, and so to bed.

792 The basic relationship between the "living saints" and the warlike nomads of the Sahara Desert is clearly stated in the Old Testament, as Monod (1947, pp. 72–73) has pointed out with keen insight and inimitable wit. In Esau and Jacob he recognized the pastoral nomad warrior and the holy man of the Sahara, where Marabouts and Shorfa families used to parley instead of fighting and bought off raiders just as Esau bought off Jacob long ago (Genesis, *32*). In Monod's words: "The Marabout's soul is in anguish at this extreme but inevitable generosity which he imposes on himself, but he would a thousand times rather have anguish in his soul than brought into his body in the shape of a sharp javelin ending its whistling flight between his shoulders. But there are times when the Marabout gets his revenge for the humiliating brutality of the warrior. The latter is indeed too simple not to be superstitious, and so, with the roles reversed, there comes a day when he in turn will tremble before the religious chief and implore the blessing of the sorcerer on his raids; for who would dare undertake such an expedition without the magic formulae and the amulet which will assure success for the enterprise and personal safety in combat? The man of God alone confers, and not without a price,

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n-Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more. 534 565

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule. 534 565 643

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had. [558]

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by meaning the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes," or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela." 534 565 631

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is," the early Arabs said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1). [192]

1. Arab-French dictionary by A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism. [174 797]

Chapter Vi

War

This is a big word to use for a series of fights, raids, and 721
battles without great losses, but I still cannot find another to describe, for example, the struggle which engaged the two confederations of the Azdjer and of the Ahaggar and which lasted almost three years, with long intermissions.

No description could give a more accurate idea of it than the detailed account of this struggle which was told to me and which may be read later in the chapter dealing with the history of the Ahaggar /not translated/.

Chapter VII

Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders

The Tuareg, taken as a whole, are not at all religious. 779
This is due first to the fact that almost none know Arabic and 771
consequently the Koran, which may not be translated. Be- 795
sides, it is known that the Tuareg, like all Berbers, espoused the doctrines of Kharijism in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and that it has taken a long time to guide them back to orthodoxy.

During this period, Salih, son of Tarif, put out a Koran in 795
the Berber language, which was destroyed at the time of the 797
repression, and we will see that the Tuareg have kept among their superstitions "survivals" of the teachings of this Salih.

An example will illustrate well the present state of mind of the Tuareg from the religious point of view: /58/

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the "chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

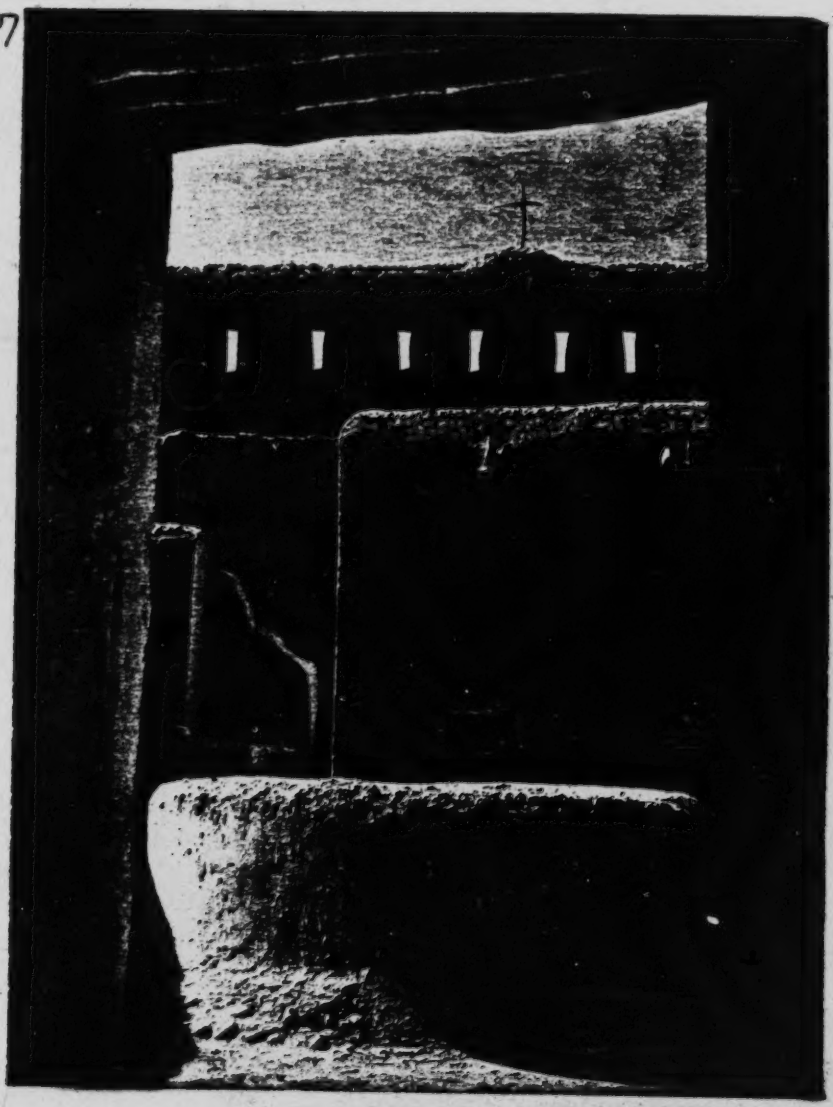
Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine (probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

797



56. Father de Foucauld's bordj.

[P. 246]